

Greek authors in Péter Pázmány's works

Orsolya BÁTHORY

Associate Research Fellow, HUN-REN–PPKE Baroque Literature and Spirituality Research Group
ORCID: 0000-0003-3325-8916

Abstract | We sometimes tend to overlook the fact that humanism did not only rediscover classical Greco-Roman antiquity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it also found the Christian authors of the late antiquity and the works of the Greek and Latin church fathers again. The authors most frequently published in Latin translation in Western Europe between 1450 and 1600 include John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, Eusebius of Caesarea, and Gregory of Nazianzus. Contrary to Protestant practice, the Catholic argumentative literature of the period was not characterized by quoting Greek texts in the original, even sporadically, and Latin played a central role both in the Church as well as the theological and religious literature. This trend, primarily generated by the Jesuits, can also be observed in the oeuvre of Péter Pázmány (1570–1637), the most important figure of the Catholic Reformation (Counter-Reformation) of the Kingdom of Hungary. The practice of citing Greek sources in Latin to support his arguments is also prevalent in his works: Greek texts are rare in Pázmány's works, and the ones that are there are only a few words long and usually part of an etymological explanation. Plutarch is the most frequently cited pagan Greek author in Pázmány's works, while the so-called "three hierarchs" of the Church Fathers are the most often referenced in Latin (John Chrysostom, Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus). The frequency with which these authors appear in Pázmány's works correlates with their popularity in Europe, since their works were the most frequently printed in Latin translation in the European presses (Basel, Antwerp, Paris) that are of importance for humanist philology. Although Pázmány often consulted collections of quotations (flores, florilegium, polyanthea) to find authoritative arguments he could use in his argumentation, he also may have known the Latin translations of the Greek authors in the form of volumes. Initially, Latin translations were made by writers who were sympathetic to the Reformation, such as Erasmus, Wolfgang Musculus, or Oecolampadius. These translations were included in the *Index prohibitorum librorum*, along with their oeuvres. By Pázmány's time, purged versions of the Latin translations were available, which Pázmány was free to use.

Keywords | Péter Pázmány, Catholic Reformation, Greek church fathers, Plutarch, John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, Latin translation, Erasmus, Wolfgang Musculus, Johannes Oecolampadius

* The author is senior research fellow in the HUN-REN–PPKE Research Group on Baroque Literature and Spirituality. The study was created as part of OTKA grant K 137815.

We sometimes forget that humanism not only rediscovered classical Greek and Roman antiquity during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it also found the Christian thinkers of the late antiquity and the works of the Greek and Latin church fathers again.¹ The reformers (Luther, Zwingli, Bucer, Oecolampadius, Calvin) also focused on patristic texts, primarily looking for the characteristics of the early church in them, as well as researching questions prompted by contemporary theological debates on the past and present of the church.² Renaissance Italy was one of the earliest centres of editing and publishing patristic texts, with Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439) and Lorenzo Valla (1407–57) among those who started this trend.³ The Council of Ferrara–Florence, which aimed to unite the Eastern and Western churches, took place between 1438–1439, with many Greek prelates from Byzantium also in attendance. The Council did a lot for facilitating the study of Greek church writers,⁴ as the delegates had to compare and cite many patristic texts during the synod, many of which were new for Italian humanists and theologians.⁵ From the middle of the fifteenth century until Luther, scholars such as Georgius Trapezuntius (1395–1472/3), Niccolò Perotti (1429–1460), Pietro Balbi (1399–1479), Lilio Tifernate (1417–1486), Francesco Griffolini (1418–1483), Ioannis Argyropoulos (1417–1486), Raffaele Maffei (1451–1522), and Zanobi Acciaiuoli (1461–1519) prepared translations of most key texts of the early Greek church fathers, several of which were still in use and published in the sixteenth century.⁶ The church fathers were also significant in terms of teaching the Greek language. In addition to the classical Greek authors, e.g. Homer, Euripides, Aristophanes, Xenophon, Demosthenes, the early Christian Saint Basil the Great, Saint Gregory of Nazianzus, and Saint John Chrysostom were also considered useful in teaching Greek.⁷ *Ratio studiorum*, the Jesuits’ educational regulations, codified previous practice and suggested that the above-mentioned “three hierarchies” should also be studied in the grammar and rhetoric classes.⁸

1 TÓTH Péter, “Görög egyházatyák a Corvinában I” [Greek church fathers in the Corvina I], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 127, no. 2 (2011), 137–148, 137.

2 Andreas AMMANN and Sam KENNERLEY, “Introduction to the Special Issue on: The Reception of the Church Fathers and Early Church Historians in the Renaissance and the Reformation, c. 1470–1650,” *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 27, no. 3 (2020), 271–276, 271; Natasha CONSTANTINIDOU, “Aspects of the Printing History and Reception of John Chrysostom and Other Greek Church Fathers, c. 1450–1600,” *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 27, no. 3 (2020), 277–299, 287.

3 Charles L. STINGER, *Humanism and Church Fathers. Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439) and Christian Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977), XIII, 40.

4 Joseph GILL, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959); Deno J. GEANAKOPOLOS, “The Council of Florence (1438–1439) and the Problem of Union Between the Greek and Latin Churches,” *Church History* 24, no. 4 (1955), 324–346.

5 Alexander ALEXAKIS, “The Greek Patristic Testimonia Presented at the Council of Florence (1439) in Support of the Filioque Reconsidered,” *Revue des Études Byzantines* 58, no. 1 (2000), 149–165.

6 CONSTANTINIDIOU, “Aspects of the Printing History ...,” 280.

7 CONSTANTINIDIOU, “Aspects of the Printing History ...,” 294.

8 CONSTANTINIDIOU, “Aspects of the Printing History ...,” 294–295. *Ratio atque institutio studiorum societatis Iesu (1586 1591 1599)*, ed. Ladislaus LUKÁCS, *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* 129. *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu* V (Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1986), 432.

The Greek authors published most frequently in Latin translation in Western Europe between 1450–1600 included Saint John Chrysostom (344–407), Saint Basil the Great (329–379), Eusebius of Caesarea (265–339), Saint Gregory of Nazianzus (329–389), Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (5th–6th century), Saint Cyril of Alexandria (376–444), Saint Gregory of Nyssa (335–394), Saint Clement of Alexandria (150–215/220), and Saint Epiphanius (c. 315–403).⁹ Although the number of Greek-language editions was much lower than those published in Latin, the works of Saint John Chrysostom and Basil of Caesarea were published more frequently in the original language than the works of Hesiod, Aristophanes, Aesop, Hippocrates, or Galen. Paris became the centre of publishing patristic literature in the sixteenth century, followed by Basel and Antwerp as the locations where the works of the Greek church fathers were most often published in the original language and Latin.¹⁰

In contrast with Protestant practice, Catholic argumentative literature did not typically quote Greek texts in the original at the time, not even sporadically, and Latin language played a central role in both the Church and theological and religious literature. This trend, which had primarily been prompted by the Jesuits, can also be detected in the oeuvre of Péter Pázmány (1570–1637), the most significant figure of Hungarian Catholic reformation (previously referred to as Counter-Reformation).¹¹ Pázmány was a Jesuit, who later became archbishop of Esztergom (in 1616) and cardinal, making a name for himself as a politician as well as an author who wrote in both Hungarian and Latin. His works also follow the practice of quoting the Latin version of the Greek sources to support the argumentation. We can barely find any Greek texts in Pázmány's works either, and the ones that are there are usually only a few words long and form part of etymological explanations. Not that Pázmány did not study or speak Greek: in the Jesuit grammar school of Kolozsvár he attended from 1583, students were taught Greek in the humaniora and rhetoric classes based on Francisco de Borja's early *Ratio studiorum*.¹² For Pázmány, this meant the academic years of 1585/86 and 1586/87. The humaniora class read Lucian's simpler dialogues and Aesop's fables, while the rhetoric class read Demosthenes and Homer.¹³ Later, at the philosophy faculty of the Jesuit university, they read Aristotle, while in the theology faculty they studied the Hebrew

9 In the case of the original, Greek critical editions, the order differs only slightly compared to the order of the Latin works: in this sense, Saint Gregory of Nazianzus outstrips Eusebius, who is followed directly by Saint Gregory of Nyssa. CONSTANTINIDIOU, "Aspects of the Printing History ...," 298.

10 CONSTANTINIDIOU, "Aspects of the Printing History ...," 298. The cooperation between Erasmus and the humanist printer-publisher Johann Froben established philologically-informed publishing in Basel. Andrew G. JOHNSTON and Jean-François GILMONT, "Printing and the Reformation in Antwerp," in *The Reformation and the Book*, ed. J.-F. GILMONT, transl. Karin MAAG, 188–213 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998).

11 For more on Péter Pázmány's life, ecclesiastic and political career, and his activities as a writer, see: *Péter Pázmány (1570–1637)*, eds. Alinka AJKAY and Emil HARGITTAY (Budapest: Universitas Publishing House, 2024).

12 ÖRY Miklós, *Pázmány Péter tanulmányi éve* [Péter Pázmány's student years], ed. BERZSÉNYI Gergely (Piliscsaba: PPKE BTK, 2006²), 23.

13 *Monumenta paedagogica Societati Jesu quae primam Rationem Studiorum anno 1586 editam praecessere*, eds. Caecilius GOMEZ RODELES et al. (Madrid: Avrial, 1901), 289, 293.

and Greek Scriptures in connection with biblical exegesis. Pázmány also occasionally had to conduct philological analyses of the original Greek texts when he was preparing for the Aristotle courses he taught at the university of Graz.¹⁴

In contrast with Protestant practice, a knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages was not aimed at individual biblical exegesis and hermeneutics among Catholics, they were instead needed for studying the Latin-language Scriptures, Vulgate, which was accepted as the official bible at the Council of Trent. The official Catholic bible, *Vulgata Sixto-Clementina*, was eventually published almost fifty years after the Council of Trent, in 1592.¹⁵ Pázmány's proficiency in the classical languages is also indicated by the fact that in 1612 the leaders of the Jesuit order selected him to be part of a committee that was planned to have three members. The committee was going to have two tasks: to check the Hungarian-language translation of the Bible prepared by Pázmány's fellow member of the order, György Káldi (1573–1634), and to adapt it based on the Hebrew and Greek texts.¹⁶

The exclusivity of the Latin language mentioned above was also apparent in the Aristotle courses of the humanities faculty of the Jesuit university. According to *Ratio studiorum*, the Latin-language commentaries to Aristotle's works were to be prioritized compared to the Greek ones, and the professors had to make sure that the Latin works did not become objects of derision or disdain in any way. It was advised that the Latin and Greek authors should not be compared with each other, they should only be quoted, obviously uniformly in Latin (although the regulation does not discuss this in particular).

Nec etiam latinos interpretes Aristotelis, aut eorum doctrinam, non irridere aut in contemptum adducere. Nec etiam in genere disputationes instituere latinorum contra graecos, et graecorum contra latinos; sed propriis nominibus tantum utrinque citatis authoribus.¹⁷

Pázmány also quotes the Greek commentators (Alexander of Aphrodisias, Themistius, Theophrastus, Porphyry, etc.) who appear in his notes to his philosophy lectures in their Latin translation.

It is thus not surprising that the Catholic authors of the Baroque, including Pázmány, rarely refer to the original texts of the Greek sources, only using their Latin

14 GERENCSÉR István, *A filozófus Pázmány* [Pázmány the philosopher] (Budapest: Élet Irodalmi és Nyomda Részvénytársaság, 1937), 36, 62.

15 *Biblia sacra vulgatae editionis Sixti Quinti Pont. Max. iussu recognita atque edita* (Roma: Typ. Apost. Vaticana, 1592).

16 ÖRY, *Pázmány Péter tanulmányi évei*, 129. György Káldi started to translate the Bible in 1605, having mostly finished by the end of 1606. The editing process took almost two decades, and the first complete Hungarian-language Catholic translation known as the Káldi Bible was eventually published in 1626, with financial support from Péter Pázmány and the Protestant prince of Transylvania, Gábor Bethlen, among others. It shows the quality of the text that it served as the official translation of the Hungarian Catholic Church until 1971.

17 *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Jesu, quae primam Rationem studiorum anno 1586 editam praecessere*, 491.

translations, and they rarely indicate the author of the translation, either. Based on this, Pázmány's reception of the original Greek texts does not differ from that of the Latin authors. Thus, the same question emerges in connection with the Greek authors that does with Pázmány's source use in general, i.e. if he used original volumes, thematic collections of quotations, or compendia of doctrine and controversial theology (which he used as florilegia) when he quoted texts. This question is all the more valid because one of Pázmány's main works alone has close to 9,000 references and quotations. Several researchers have closely examined this issue in connection with Baroque sermons. The results of these textual analyses show that the enormous number of quotations definitely suggests the use of florilegia, but since the exact sources of the quotations are also provided, it is likely that the original works were used as well.¹⁸ However, even if we assumed that Pázmány only took his quotations from florilegia and other summaries of controversial theology (the works of Roberto Bellarmino, Gregorio de Valencia, and Thomas Stapleton), it is still important to examine the original sources of the texts that were available in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (until Pázmány's death in 1637), in this case the Latin-language editions of the Greek authors cited in the oeuvre.

When examining the Greek authors Pázmány used, we should focus on the two truly significant works within his complete oeuvre, i.e. *Kalauz* [A Guide to divine truth] and *Prédikációk* [Sermons].¹⁹ *Kalauz*, which was published in 1613, 1623, and 1637, is a theoretical and textual synthesis of Pázmány's works in controversial theology and polemics, synthesizing them in terms of both ideas and text. It includes almost all his previous polemics on the Protestant religion and the politics of denominations, of course in a rewritten and recontextualized form.²⁰ The thematic format of the work made it possible for it to serve as a sort of Hungarian-language compendium of doctrine for Catholics, as well as a basis of discussion for several Protestant polemics.

His other major work, which he specifically wrote for the members of his own denomination, is the collection of his sermons (hereinafter: *Prédikációk*), the pieces of which demonstrably served as model sermons for priests officiating masses. What

18 BITSKEY István, *Humanista erudíció és barokk világkép. Pázmány Péter prédikációi* [Humanist erudition and the Baroque world view. Péter Pázmány's sermons], *Humanizmus és reformáció* 8 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 54–57; GÁBOR Csilla, *Káldi György prédikációi. Források, teológia, retorika* [György Káldi's sermons. Sources, theology, rhetoric], *Csokonai Könyvtár. Bibliotheca Studiorum Litterarium* 24 (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó – Debreceni Egyetem, 2001), 56.

19 PÁZMÁNY Péter, *Isteni igazságra vezérlő kalauz* [A Guide to divine truth] (Pozsony: [typ. archiepiscopalis], 1613) RMNy no. 1059; PÁZMÁNY Péter, *Igazságra vezérlő kalauz* [A Guide to divine truth] (Pozsony: [typ. Societatis Jesu], 1623); PÁZMÁNY Péter, *Hodoegus. Igazságra vezérlő kalauz* [Hodoegus. A Guide to divine truth], (Pozsony: [typ. Societatis Jesu], 1637); PÁZMÁNY Péter, *A római anyaszentegyház szokásából minden vasárnapokra és egy néhány innpekre rendelt evangéliomokról prédikációk* [Sermons on the gospels ordered by the Holy Church in Rome for every Sunday and some holidays] (Pozsony: [typ. Societatis Jesu], 1636).

20 HARGITTAY Emil, *Pázmány Péter írói módszere. A Kalauz és a vitairatok újíráása* [Péter Pázmány's writing methods: rewriting the Guide and the polemics] (Budapest: Universitas Kiadó, 2019).

links *Kalauz* and *Prédikációk*, beyond their author, is that citations, i.e. borrowed texts, form an important part of both in addition to Pázmány's own text.

Which Greek authors Pázmány refers to depends on the genre of the given work. In his Hungarian-language apologetic polemics, including *Kalauz*, works on the history of the church are in the majority. Those who continued and extended the work of Eusebius of Caesarea and his *historia ecclesiastica*, i.e. Socrates Scholasticus (c. 380 – c. 440/450), Sozomen (400–450), and Theodoret (393–458), appear about 700 times in the oeuvre, more than 40 percent of which can be found in *Kalauz*, with only roughly 15 percent in *Prédikációk*.

Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 265–339) is conspicuously overrepresented in Pázmány's oeuvre. Beside his history of the church, there are several references to his *Praeparatio Evangelica* (Εὐαγγελικὴ προπαρασκευή), typically in *Kalauz*. The fifteen-volume work is an important apologetic work of early Christianity, defending the values of Christian faith against pagan religions and philosophies. The word *praeparatio* (προπαρασκευή) in the title indicates that the piece was written to prepare pagans who wanted to follow the gospel for baptism. Pázmány quotes *Praeparatio evangelica* on several occasions in the translation of Georgius Trapezuntius, who was originally from Byzantium but emigrated to Italy, and he only uses the contemporary French Jesuit François Viger's translation published not too long before, in 1628, on one occasion, in the third edition of *Kalauz* in 1637.²¹ Although Viger's translation only appears once in the argumentation, it still shows that Pázmány wanted to keep the text base he could build on in his reasoning up to date.²² There are even more references to Eusebius' above-mentioned history of the church. Pázmány typically quotes *Historia Ecclesiastica* in Rufinus' fifth-century, enormously popular translation, although on some occasions he uses the Latin translation of Johannes Christophorsonus, i.e. John Christopherson (†1558), a sixteenth-century English Catholic bishop, occasionally also indicating this fact on the margin.²³ In addition, he somewhat surprisingly also uses the more modern and precise translation prepared by Calvinist theologian Wolfgang Meuslin (Musculus).²⁴

Pázmány also quotes the works of the above-mentioned Byzantine historiographers, Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius based on the Latin translation prepared by the bishop of Chichester, John Christopherson.²⁵ A later Byzantine source for Pázmány was the thirteenth-fourteenth-century Nikephoros Kallis-

21 Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου [...] προπαρασκευὴ ἐναγγελικὴ: Eusebii Pamphili Caesareae Palaestinae episcopi Praeparatio Evangelica [...] (Paris: Sumptibus Michaelis Sonni, Sebastiani Cramoisy et Caroli Morelli, 1628).

22 PÁZMÁNY Péter, *Hodoegus* ..., 44. Pázmány indicates the difference between the two translations regarding where chapters begin and end in the marginalia: "Eusebius, 5. de Praepar. ca. 15. Versionis Trapezunt. Versionis Viguerij, cap. 36."

23 Eusebius Pamphilus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae pars prima* [...] Ioanne CHRISTOPHORSONO Anglo Cicestrensi Episcopo interprete (Leuven: Servatius Sassen, 1569).

24 *Ecclesiasticae historiae autores: Eusebii Pamphili Caesariae Palaestinae episcopi Historiae ecclesiasticae lib. X* [...] Wolfgango MUSCULO interprete (Basel: Froben, 1549).

25 *Historiae ecclesiasticae scriptores Graeci* [...] (Cologne: Birckmann, 1570).

tos Xanthopoulos, whose history of the church he cites in the Upper-Silesian humanist Johannes Lange's (1503–1567) translation.²⁶

How frequently the Greek church fathers were quoted follows the same pattern as the above-described trend in the frequency of their publication across Europe (Paris, Basel, Antwerp, etc.). Accordingly, Pázmány mentions or quotes Saint John Chrysostom the most from Greek patristics, who is followed by Saint Basil the Great and Saint Gregory of Nazianzus. The majority of the approximately 600 references to the “three hierarchs,” who are traditionally mentioned together, can be found in *Kalauz*, while they are quoted slightly less frequently in *Prédikációk*. Even by Pázmány's time, citing their works was already the result of a translation tradition going back more than a thousand years. Most of the early Christian works were written in Greek, including the New Testament. The biblical pericopes, psalms, and other books of the Old Testament were first translated from Greek into Latin, and the Roman liturgy was also initially delivered in Greek, or at least in two languages.²⁷ In addition, the apostolic fathers, as well as several works by the Alexandrian and Antiochian fathers were already translated into Latin in the early Christian times.²⁸ At the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries, Saint Jerome (c. 340–420) and Rufinus (345–410) translated from several Greek authors, and these translations were widely distributed during the Middle Ages and can even be detected in several texts cited by Pázmány.²⁹ For example, he also quotes Saint Gregory of Nazianzus (the Theologian) in Rufinus' translation, although some of the citations go back to the complete Latin-language edition published by Jacques de Billy de Prunay in 1563.³⁰

In addition to Gregory of Nazianzus, Pázmány also quotes Saint Basil the Great from the Cappadocian fathers on several occasions. These texts originate from the translations of Janus Cornarius (Johannes Haynpol, 1500–1558) and Wolfgang Mus-

26 *Nicephori Callisti Xanthopuli [...] Ecclesiasticae historiae libri decem et octo: [...] Ioannis LANGI in Latinum sermonem translati [...]* (Basel: Oporinus, 1551). For more on Johannes Lange, see: András NÉMETH, “Byzantine and Humanist Greek Manuscripts in Buda before 1526. The Limits of Studying the Greek Corvinas,” in *Matthias Rex 1458–1490. Hungary at the Dawn of the Renaissance*, eds. István DRASKÓCZY et al., 1–27 (Budapest: ELTE BTK Régi Magyar Irodalom Tanszék, 2013), 4. On identifying Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos as one of Pázmány's sources on the history of the church, see: KECSKEMÉTI Gábor and SZEKLER Enikő, “Egy Pázmány-exemplum filológiai háttere és intertextuális kapcsolatai” [The philological background and intertextual connections of a Pázmány exemplum], in *Pázmány nyomában. Tanulmányok Hargittay Emil tiszteletére*, eds. AJKAY Alinka and BAJÁKI Rita, 243–246 (Vác: Mondat Kft, 2013).

27 TÓTH, “Görög egyházatyák a Corvinában I,” 139.

28 STINGER, *Humanism and Church Fathers ...*, 84.

29 Rufinus was Saint Gregory of Nazianzus' earliest translator, but he only translated nine sermons into Latin. Sister Agnes Clare WAY, “Gregorius Nazianzenus,” in *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum. Medieval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries*, 2, eds. Paul Oskar KRISTELLER and F. Edward CRANZ, 43–192 (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1971).

30 *Divi Gregorii Nazianzeni, cognomento theologi, Opera omnia, quae quidem extant, nova translatione donata [...]* *Quae omnia nunc primum latina facta sunt*, ed. Jacobi BILLII PRUNAEI (Paris: Jean Bienné, 1569). For a more detailed description of De Billy's edition of Gregory of Nazianzus, see: WAY, “Gregorius Nazianzenus,” 55–56.

culus (Meuslin, Mauslein, Müslin, 1497–1563). Both Cornarius, a Saxon physician who was friends with Erasmus, and the Calvinist theologian Meuslin were included in the first classis of the *Index* Pope Paul IV approved in 1564, i.e. the ban applied to their complete oeuvre.³¹ The first Roman *Index* promulgated on 31 December, 1558 and printed in 1559 dramatically limited access to the church fathers' works, prohibiting the reading of patristic texts that were translated by "heretics", e.g. Musculus, Oecolampadius, and Erasmus.³² As a result of literate church members' complaints, the restrictions that accompanied some of the prohibitions of the *Index* were refined in February 1559. *Instructio circa Indicem* thus allowed editions of the fathers that had been prepared by heretics, as long as all traces of heresy were removed, and the relevant inquisitor or bishop approved the reading of the censored text. *Moderatio indicis librorum prohibitorum* permitted the translations of the church fathers in 1561, as long as the text did not contain any errors of faith.³³ A review of the Roman *Index* was concluded in 1563, at the end of the Council of Trent, and the result was the above-mentioned "Tridentine Index" in 1564. The third rule of the ten general rules (*Regulae*) published in it, which was partly about post-publication censorship, allowed the reading of religious texts translated by banned authors if those did not contain teachings that went against the orthodoxy. The eighth rule approved studying books that only contained a few suspicious passages, if these were also deleted.³⁴ In other words, the prohibition in terms of censorship was refined later, and translations and editions prepared by heretics were allowed, as long as the text was purged of Protestant interpretations. Saint Gregory of Nazianzus, Saint John Chrysostom, and the rest of the Greek church fathers cited by Pázmány all had expurgated editions. That is how Pázmány could quote for instance John Chrysostom's sermons from the *Epistle to the Ephesians* in Wolfgang Musculus' translation on several occasions.³⁵

31 *Index librorum prohibitorum, cum Regulis confectis* (Roma: Paolo Manuzio, 1564), 45, 71. The ban included Cornarius' medical works, while Musculus was also included under the name Meusel, just in case. Interest in works that filled a gap often overrode the ban, so although Musculus remained a banned author according to the 1624 index, his translation of Polybius was allowed. *Index auctorum damnatae memoriae: tum etiam librorum, qui vel simpliciter, vel ad expurgationem usque prohibentur, vel deniq[ue] iam expurgati permittuntur* (Lisboa: Craesbeeck, 1624), 185.

32 Sam KENNERLEY, *The Reception of John Chrysostom in Early Modern Europe. Translating and Reading a Greek Church Father from 1417 to 1624* (Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2023), 229.

33 KENNERLEY, *The Reception of John Chrysostom in Early Modern Europe* ..., 229.

34 KENNERLEY, *The Reception of John Chrysostom in Early Modern Europe* ..., 230. This post-publication censorship meant that all unwanted information was deleted from the books, including the name of the author, the dedicating person, the printing house, or where the book was published, even entire passages from the text. Peter Sjökvist, "Protestant Books in Jesuit Libraries from Riga, Braniewo and Poznań. Catholic Post-publication Censorship in Practice," in *Early Modern Catholicism and the Printed Book: Agents – Networks – Responses*, eds. Justyna KILIAŃCZYK-ZIĘBA and Magdalena KOMOROWSKA, Library of the Written Word 119 – The Handpress World 97, 143–149 (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2024), 146. Searching for Plutarch's Latin translations, I found several volumes online from which the name of Erasmus, Musculus, or some other Protestant translator was carefully deleted.

35 The first expurgated Chrysostom edition was published in Venice in 1574. KENNERLEY, *The Reception of John Chrysostom in Early Modern Europe* ..., 232.

From the Greek church fathers, Chrysostom is mentioned the most, approximately 330 times, in the borrowed texts of the Pázmány oeuvre. The fact that this Greek church father was mentioned the most can also be explained by his popularity in Europe, since 443 editions of his works were published until 1600 in several languages, mostly in Latin.³⁶ The first humanist Latin translations of Chrysostom's homilies on the gospel and his commentaries on the apostolic letters were prepared by Ambrogio Traversari in the 1420s.³⁷ The first Latin work published in print was his homilies on the *Gospel of Matthew*, which was translated by Georgius Trapezuntius for Pope Nicholas V.³⁸ Erasmus' first Latin-language Chrysostom edition (*De orando Deum, libri duo*, Basel, Johann Froben) was published in 1525, while he published *Opera omnia* in 1530 with the help of the Protestant Johannes Oecolampadius.³⁹ Chrysostom was already appreciated by Renaissance readers for his rhetorical skills.⁴⁰ His homilies made use of his pastoral practice and could easily be reconciled later with the spirit of the Tridentinum, since due to their genre, they were rich both in interpretations of the Scriptures and in moral teaching. At the same time, Saint John Chrysostom also provided suitable evidence for sixteenth-century Catholic controversial theologians in various debates regarding such cardinal issues as proving the primacy of the bishopric of Rome or that of the pope at its head.⁴¹ While *Opera omnia*, published by the Zwinglian Oecolampadius from Basel, contained many notes that suggested a Protestant interpretation of the works,⁴² denominational affiliation could not be detected in the translations of Wolfgang Musculus, who was also Protestant.⁴³ It was likely due to this and the above-described refinements in papal censorship that Musculus' translations could spread in addition to those of Erasmus. This is also why Pázmány may have used their texts; he

36 CONSTANTINIDIOU, "Aspects of the Printing History ...," 287.

37 TÓTH, "Görög egyházatyák a Corvinában I," 141; STINGER, *Humanism and the Church Fathers* ..., 151–153.

38 KENNERLEY, *The Reception of John Chrysostom in Early Modern Europe* ..., 105; CONSTANTINIDIOU, "Aspects of the Printing History ...," 287.

39 According to Sam Kennerley, an alternative approach to the written material related to preparing *Opera omnia* for print suggests that Oecolampadius was the main driver behind creating the complete edition in 1530, and that he was the one who prepared an openly Protestant edition of Chrysostom, which Erasmus and his friends tried to squeeze out with a Catholic alternative six years later. KENNERLEY, *The Reception of John Chrysostom in Early Modern Europe* ..., 6.

40 KENNERLEY, *The Reception of John Chrysostom in Early Modern Europe* ..., 122.

41 Charles L. STINGER, *Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998), 170; CONSTANTINIDIOU, "Aspects of the Printing History ...," 287.

42 *Omnia opera diui Ioannis Chrysostomi, archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani, quae ad hunc usque diem in lucem aedita sunt* (Basel: Cratander, 1525). KENNERLEY, *The Reception of John Chrysostom in Early Modern Europe* ..., 151.

43 Wolfgang Meuslin's Chrysostom edition *Opera quotquot per Graecorum exemplarium facultatem in Latinam linguam hactenus traduci poterunt* (Basel: Johann Herwagen, 1539). During the 1540s, Meuslin translated several Greek church fathers, and according to his statement, his interest was motivated by trying to find patristic arguments to support Protestant doctrine, thus turning the Catholics' own polemic weapon, i.e. patristic authority, against themselves. KENNERLEY, *The Reception of John Chrysostom in Early Modern Europe* ..., 190.

also cited the translations of the equally suspicious German de Brie and the Carthusian Godefroy Tilmann.⁴⁴

Pázmány also cites pagan Greek authors in his argumentations, mostly as easily understandable, entertaining examples. In his Latin-language satirical pamphlet written against the Lutherans who participated in the Synod of Zsolna, *Logi alogi*, he refers to Ailianos' *Ποικίλη ιστορία* or *Varia historia* several times. Two translations were available of this piece in this period. One was by Jacopo Lorio, published in Venice in 1550, although Pázmány published quotations from the Latin translation prepared by Marburg Hebraist Justus Vulteius rather than Lorio's.⁴⁵

The other genre in which Pázmány had the opportunity to quote several pagan Greek authorities was that of the sermon. The bishops' obligation to preach played a particularly important role after the Council of Trent and the Synod of Nagyszombat (1611), which was held in the spirit of the former.⁴⁶ With it, the genre of the sermon also came into focus because beside their vernacular translations of the Bible, Protestants also gained major ground in "poaching souls" through the intensity of their preaching. The post-Trent expectations of Catholic ecclesiastic speech still required that the pericope should mediate if there was no Bible translation, providing the text of the holy mass translated into the language of the faithful, as well as its authoritative interpretation and the relevant doctrine.⁴⁷ On top of all this, an acute demand appeared for the homily to also serve the moral edification of the faithful. Similarly to other contemporary European or Hungarian preachers, Pázmány borrowed some of the concepts, exempla, and arguments that were necessary to implement this ethical programme from Seneca's and Plutarch's writings on moral philosophy.⁴⁸ In *Prédikációk*, he refers to Plutarch or quotes excerpts from anecdotes or apophthegmata over two hundred times, which makes him the third most frequently quoted author after Augustine and Pázmány's big favourite, Seneca.⁴⁹

The stoic ethics that originated from the monotheistic devoutness of Plutarch (AD. 46/48–125/127), a priest of Apollo's temple at Delphi, can be detected in *Parallel Lives*, and

44 Brie's name appeared on the list that was issued in Rome in 1576 of the authors who were "partly condemned, partly to be corrected." He was then completely banned in the index printed in Parma in 1580. KENNERLEY, *The Reception of John Chrysostom in Early Modern Europe ...*, 236.

45 AELIANI *De varia historia libri XIII* (Basel: [Oporinus], 1548).

46 MIHALOVICS Ede, *A katolikus prédikáció története Magyarországon* [The history of Catholic preaching in Hungary], 2 (Budapest: n.p., 1901), 11–13; BITSKEY István, "Pázmány prédikációi és a Tridentinum" [Pázmány's sermons and the Tridentinum], in *Pázmány nyomában: Tanulmányok Hargittay Emil tiszteletére*, eds. AJKAY Alinka and BAJÁKI Rita, 77–86 (Vác: Mondat Kft, 2013), 82; BITSKEY, *Humanista erudíció és barokk világkép ...*, 15–16.

47 BITSKEY, "Pázmány prédikációi ...," 79.

48 BITSKEY, *Humanista erudíció és barokk világkép ...*, 15–16.

49 For more on Pázmány's Plutarch reception, see: BÁTHORY Orsolya, "Pázmány és Plutarkhosz" [Pázmány and Plutarch], in *Fordítás a lelkiségi irodalomban*, ed., SZÁDOCZKI Vera, Pázmány Irodalmi Műhely. Lelkiségtörténeti tanulmányok 31, 9–38 (Budapest: HUN-REN-PPKE Barokk Irodalom és Lelkiség Kutatócsoport, 2023).

obviously even more markedly in *Moralia*.⁵⁰ Since more than 90 percent of Pázmány's Plutarch references come from *Moralia*, it makes sense to focus on Pázmány's reception of this collection of texts. *Moralia* contains 78 different dialogues and diatribes on issues of philosophy, culture, society, and religion, some of which are clearly not genuine Plutarch pieces. The history of the Latin translations of *Moralia* began with the Italian humanists and continued with Erasmus, eventually ending with the Germans. The complete collection was namely prepared for publication by Guiljelmus Xylander (Wilhelm Holtzman, 1532–1576), who included many of his own translations. It was published in Thomas Guarin's printing house in Basel in 1570.⁵¹ *Moralia* was traditionally divided into fourteen books starting from this latter edition. Not surprisingly, the complete oeuvre of Xylander, who taught at the university of Heidelberg, was already on the index of the Spanish inquisition by 1583.⁵² However, his commentary on Plutarch was allowed by the *Index librorum expurgatorum* part of the list of banned books from 1612 (with some censored parts).⁵³ The normative text corpus that became complete with Xylander's edition made it possible for Plutarch to become an important part of the Catholic preaching rhetoric that was renewed as a result of the Council of Trent, and its basis of argumentation in particular. Christianizing Plutarch happened relatively quickly, like it did with Seneca, thanks to the natural moral perspective that prevailed in his works. The authors who potentially served as models for Pázmány when he wrote his sermons refer to *Moralia* or quote from it relatively frequently. They included Cornelius a Lapide's commentaries on the Scriptures or Georg Scherer's sermons, to only mention the most important ones. Ludovicus Granatensis (Luis de Granada, 1505–1588) even compiled a separate homiletic handbook from Seneca's and Plutarch's works in moral philosophy, under the title *Loci communes philosophiae moralis*.⁵⁴

Pázmány's sermons are thematic and often focus on moral phenomena related to pericopes, problems of behaviour and lifestyle, as well as moral duties.⁵⁵ Pázmány could easily use Plutarch's essays and dialogues, which also discussed individual topics, for this morally-focused subject matter. Most references are from *Septem sapientium con-*

50 Plutarch was a representative of Middle Platonism, and a smaller circle of philosophers also formed in Chaeronea around him. The ethics of Middle Platonism is essentially a stoic ethic. Everett FERGUSON, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003³), 387–391.

51 Xylander also translated some works of Dio Cassius, Strabo, as well as Diophantus and Michael Psellus into Latin. He also participated in redacting the Greek editions of Pausanias and Stephanus Byzantius. The first partial German translation of Euclid's *Elements* can also be attributed to him. Fritz SCHÖLL, "Xylander, Wilhelm," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1898), 44:582–593.

52 *Index et catalogus Librorum prohibitorum* ... (Madrid: Gómez, 1583), 32.

53 *Index librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum* ... (Madrid: Sanchez, 1612), 351–352.

54 Ludovicus GRANATENSIS, *Loci communes philosophiae moralis in tres tomos digesti* (Cologne: Quentel, 1604).

55 HORVÁTH Csaba Péter, "Hogyan írt prédikációt Telegdi Miklós és Pázmány Péter?" [How did Miklós Telegdi and Péter Pázmány write sermons?], in *Pázmány nyomában: Tanulmányok Hargittay Emil tiszteletére*, eds. AJKAY Alinka and BAJÁKI Rita, 183–191 (Vác: Mondat Kft, 2013), 184.

vivium (*Symposium*), followed by *Apophthegmata regum et imperatorum*, *Quaestiones Romanae*, *De sera numinis vindicta*, *De educatione liberorum*, and *De cohibenda iracundia*. The two most often cited pieces of *Moralia* (*The Dinner of the Seven Wise Men* and *Sayings of Kings and Commanders*) show how much Pázmány liked aphorisms (gnomes) and apophthegmata that conveyed moral maxims. According to Sándor Sík, “this lively, sententious Hungarian way of expression” was an essential part of Pázmány’s style,⁵⁶ while Miklós Óry emphasizes that “the sententious Pázmány liked the sayings and practical maxims of the sapientialis books of the Scriptures [Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and Baruch] very much.”⁵⁷

The thematic title of Pázmány’s first sermon written for the second Sunday of Advent was *Miért sanyargattya Isten hiveit e földön; és ellenségit gyakorta kedvekre tartya* [Why does God torment his faithful on this earth; and he often favours his enemies].⁵⁸ Plutarch’s dialogue *De sera numinis vindicta* was a perfect ancient precedent and source for this topic, which certainly preoccupied the faithful and was always formulated in the Christian context of the time. The thoughts taken from it became the main structural elements of Pázmány’s sermon, as he quotes the above-mentioned dialogue a total of seven times, based on the translation of the German humanist Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530). He probably took the citations from a complete text that was published in a volume rather than florilegia, since the beginning of the *confirmatio* part of the sermon closely follows the reasoning of the ancient source.

There are other parallels with *Moralia* in Pázmány’s sermons, mostly in the topics he chooses for the sermons and how he develops them. Thus, the Pseudo-Plutarch treatise *De educatione liberorum* on raising children is cited seven times in his homily *A fiaknak istenes neveléséről* [On the godly education of sons].⁵⁹ In *Házasságban-élő aszszonyok tanúsága* [The testimony of married women], Pázmány quotes the relevant *Coniugalia praecepta* several times,⁶⁰ while in the sermon *A gyilkosságról és haragról* [On murder and anger] he repeatedly quotes Seneca’s *De ira* and Plutarch’s *De cohibenda iracundia* on curbing anger, in Erasmus’ translation.⁶¹

Sándor Lukácsy, examining Pázmány’s sermons, drew attention to the fact that Pázmány played an essential role in making the Christian Seneca part of Hungarian literature, and that the phenomenon of reception known as the “Hungarian Seneca”

56 Sík Sándor, *Pázmány. Az ember és az író* [Pázmány. The man and the writer] (Budapest: Szent István-Társulat, 1939), 336.

57 Óry Miklós, “Pázmány az ige szolgálatában” [Pázmány in the service of the gospel], *Szolgálat*, no. 2 (1969): 47–70, 66.

58 PÁZMÁNY Péter, *Predikációk* [Sermons], 1, ed. KANYORSZKY György, Pázmány Péter Összes Munkái 6 (Budapest: M. Kir. Tud.-Egyetemi Nyomda, 1903), 28–48.

59 PÁZMÁNY, *Predikációk*, 249–266.

60 PÁZMÁNY, *Predikációk*, 307–324.

61 PÁZMÁNY Péter, *Predikációk* [Sermons], 2, ed. KANYORSZKY György, Pázmány Péter Összes Munkái 7 (Budapest: M. Kir. Tud.-Egyetemi Nyomda, 1905), 195–214. For several examples of quoting or translating Plutarch, see: BÁTHORY, “Pázmány és Plutarkhosz,” 25–31.

emerged largely thanks to him.⁶² It would also have been possible to turn Plutarch into an author who was preserved in the Baroque in a Christianized form, with his view of God verging on monotheism and a purely ethical world view that was close to Christianity. However, because he was Greek and had been forgotten for centuries, as well as the bigger popularity of *Parallel Lives*, he did not receive as much attention as Seneca. Based on the examples described above, and in light of the fact that Plutarch is the third most quoted author in Pázmány's sermons, it would be important to have a closer look at the Hungarian reception of a Christian Plutarch.

⁶² LUKÁCSY Sándor, "Magyar Seneca" [Hungarian Seneca], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 96 (1992), 261–274.